THE

SUBSTANCE

OF THE

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1795,

ON OPENING THE

EAST INDIA BUDGET.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DEBRETT, oppoſite *Burlington Houſe, Piccadilly.*

1795.

HJ
2152

THE

SUBSTANCE

OF A

SPEECH, &c.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1795.

THE order of the day being read for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the papers relative to the affairs of India, the Houſe accordingly reſolved itſelf into the ſaid committee, Mr. Joddrel in the chair,

Mr. Secretary Dundas roſe and ſaid, that although the accounts, on which the attention of the Houſe was that night to be engaged, were pretty numerous, and of a nature at once impor-

ſant and extenſive, he hoped to be able to explain them fully, without treſpaſſing very long on the indulgence of the Houſe, for the matters contained in them, though various, were entirely free from perplexity. Gentlemen had already, he ſuppoſed, inſpected the ſeveral articles contained in the accounts, it would, therefore, be unneceſſary for him to trouble them with preliminary matter; he would, therefore, without farther preface, proceed to that explanation which the nature of his duty demanded from him, firſt, of each particular part, and finally, of the whole taken together.

The firſt branch of this explanation was to be directed to the ſituation of the revenues in India, with the deduction of the various charges as the foundation of the capital of the Company for carrying on their trade: and the next, to the ſituation of the Company at home, as ariſing out of, and connected with, thoſe revenues. From both thoſe he was to draw a general reſult, and ſhew to the Houſe how far the circumſtances of the Company were better or worſe than when he had laſt the honour of laying the affairs of India before them. In doing this, Bengal naturally preſented itſelf firſt; and here he would remark, that the accounts had been made up with ſuch a degree of accuracy, that he ſhould not have occaſion to enter into a minute detail of the articles which compoſed them, unleſs ſome perſon ſhould call upon him to ſolve ſome doubts reſpecting them.

The Houſe would recollect, that in forming his eſtimates of the probable produce of the revenues, charges, &c. of the Company, he had always adopted the mode of ſtating an average of the laſt three years, and alſo the eſtimate and actual accounts for the laſt year, and the eſtimate for the future. According to this mode, the accounts were

made up, turning the country currency into pounds ſterling; agreeable to its reſpective valuation at the different ſettlements.

BENGAL, Current Rupees at 2s.

REVENUES.

	£.
No. I. Average Revenues of 3 years, 1791-2 to 1793-4 -	5,425,317
No. II. Eſtimated amount of Revenues for 1793-4, -	5,432,768
The actual amount in that year - -	5,871,946
Revenues more than eſtimated	439,178

CHARGES.

No. III. The Charges for 1793-4 were eſtimated at - -	3,238,346
Actual amount -	3,331,978
Charges more than eſtimated	93,632
Actual account better than eſtimate	345,546
The actual nett Revenue for 1793-4 was	2,539,968

ESTIMATES, 1794-5.

No. I. Revenues are eſtimated to amount to - -	5,580,606
No. II. And Charges to -	3,278,634
Eſtimated Nett Revenues	2,301,972

The

The excefs of the revenue above the eftimate arofe, firft, out of the land revenue, partly from the paying up of arrears, and partly from an annual increafe; fecondly, from an increafe of the revenue upon falt, above the eftimate, a clear proof, as it did not appear that the price was raifed, that the confumption, and confequently the population of the country, were increafed.

The excefs of the charges above the eftimate arofe from an additional donation to the army, amounting to 46,729l. more than the fum fettled by the Marquis Cornwallis, and an increafe of charges upon falt and opium to the amount of 77,156l.—Deducting the excefs of charges from the excefs of revenue, the actual account was better than the eftimate by 345,546l.

He faw no reafon to think that the revenue for 1794-5 would be lefs productive than for the year preceding; but it had always been his wifh to take the eftimate fo low as to leave no chance of the actual amount falling fhort of it. Such were the directions which had long fince been given to the Company's fervants in India; and upon this principle it was, not upon any ground of diftruft, that the eftimate was taken lower than the actual produce of 1793-4. In the account No. II. the Committee would fee an article for the charges of the Dewanny and Nizamut, City and Zilla Adawluts, of the Police eftablifhments, and Courts of Appeal. Thefe charges appeared for the firft time in the accounts, becaufe, as it had been thought proper for the protection and convenience of the natives, to feparate the provincial jurifdictions from the collection of the revenue, it had alfo been thought proper to feparate the charges, and the change took place in 1793.

MADRAS.

MADRAS.—Pagoda at 8s.

No. VI.	The Revenues for 1793-4 were eſtimated at -	£. 2,232,077
	Actual amount -	2,110,089
	Leſs than Eſtimate	121,988
	The Charges were eſtimated at - -	1,701,298
	And amounted to	1,999,376
	More than eſtimated	298,078
	Actual Account worſe than the eſtimate -	420,066

ESTIMATES, 1794-5.

No. IV.	The Revenues are eſtimated to amount to -	1,855,317
No. V.	And the Charges to -	1,782,247
	Eſtimated Nett Revenue	73,070

He could not give an average of three years from Madras, for ſeveral reaſons. During the war the Rajah of Travancore paid a ſubſidy to this Preſidency ; a new arrangement had been made with the Nabob of Arcot and Rajah of Tanjore, which required time to be carried into effect, as did alſo the regulations for ſettling and collecting the revenues of the countries ceded by Tippoo.

The cauſes of the deficiency in the actual amount of the revenue were, that the Nabob of Arcot had paid the year before a lack of rupees before it was due, and had not made a ſimilar advance in payment

ment the next.—In the treaty with the Nabob, the Company agreed to take, as part of his subfidy, the tribute payable to him by the Southern Polygars, becaufe, he calling for the tribute as his neceffities urged him, and they refufing to pay, the Company, as holding the fword, were frequently called upon to interfere, and therefore it was thought more advifeable to take the collection of the tribute at once into their own hands: this tribute was not yet regularly paid, although there was no doubt that it would, when the Polygars found by experience, that they were only to be called upon regularly, not according to our neceffities, but according to our eftablifhed rights; the Northern Circars had alfo fuffered by famine a few years ago, from which they were not yet recovered, and fome difturbances had alfo taken place in fome of them:—thefe different circumftances occafioned a defalcation of revenue.

The excefs of charges was accounted for by an additional donation to the army ferving in the war againft Myfore, amounting to 146,550l. and the expenfes attending the capture of Pondicherry, 173,042l. thefe two articles were more than the excefs above the eftimate, the charges having been lefs in fome other articles.

By the eftimate for 1794-5, the revenue exceeded the charges by 73,070l. He was far from faying, that Madras did not hold out a more flattering profpect; but even this was fufficient to juftify all the calculations he had ever offered to the Houfe refpecting it, which never went farther than to fay, that it would be able to pay its own current expenfes. He now hoped that it would foon be able to do much more.

BOM-

BOMBAY—Rupees at 2s. 3d.

	£.
No. XI. The Revenues for 1793-4, were estimated at - - -	277,898
And amounted to - -	312,364
More than estimated -	34,466
The Charges were estimated at	696,139
And amounted to - -	783,791
More than estimated -	87,652
Actual Account therefore worse than the Estimate -	53,186
No. VII. The Revenues in 1794-5, are estimated at - - -	354,883
No. VIII. And the Charges at - - -	757,551
Estimated Charges more than the Revenues - - - -	402,668

From Bombay an average of three years could not be obtained, because great part of the revenue arose from territory ceded by Tippoo Sultan at the close of the late war. The excess of charges arose from the increase of marine establishment occasioned by the war; from a donation to the army, and from the expenses occasioned in the past year by the necessity of employing natives in addition to the Company's servants, for ascertaining and collecting the revenues of the ceded countries. This in the first instance was a measure of policy, as well as of necessity; the benefits of which would remain when the expense had ceased.

Bencoolen and Islands.

	£.
Revenue on an average of 3 years, at Fort Marlboro' - -	4,840
Supplies from Bengal to ditto, Pinang, St. Helena, &c. estimated for 1793-4	77,000
No. XVIII. Actual amount	66,358
No. XI. Estimated to be supplied in 1794-5 -	104,632

The estimate of supplies to these settlements in 1794-5, was considerably above both the estimated, and the actual amount for the year before, for which he could assign no reason, as it had been transmitted to him without any explanation.

General State of Revenues and Charges in India.

	£.
Total of the Revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, 1793-4, as above stated - -	8,294,399
Charges of ditto, (including 66,358l. supplies to Bencoolen, &c.) -	6,181,504
Revenues more than charges -	2,112,895
Interest on debts paid from this sum	458,043
Surplus Revenues - -	1,654,852
Add---Import, Sales, and Certificates -	475,994
Amount applicable to the provision of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c. (exclusive of 20,000l. gained by issuing notes) -	2,130,846

By

	£.	£.
By No. XVIII. applied at Bengal, in the year	1,402,038	
By No. XIX. applied at Madras, in the year	404,648	
By No. XX. applied at Bombay, in the year	328,348	
By No. XXII. fhipped from Bencoolen in the year - -	12,618	
		2,147,652
Amount applicable to inveftments, &c. as above ftated - -		2,130,846
In the eftimate made in February, 1793, the fum ftated was - -		1,513,577
More in 1793-4 than in that eftimate		617,269

By the above account it appeared that more had been applied to the Inveftments, &c. than the Surplus Revenues and the amount of Sales and Certificates. This was accounted for by the Profit and Lofs Account upon internal trade, and the profit upon the iffuing of promiffory notes.

It might be faid that he had rated the Surplus too high, fince it was fwelled by the payment of 401,826l. from Tippoo Sultan. This he admitted was an extraordinary article of income; but on the other fide of the account were included extraordinary articles of expenditure, as the additional donations to the army, and expenfes occafioned by the prefent war, to the amount of 500,000l.

Estimates for 1794-5.

	£.
Total Revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, eſtimated 1794-5	7,790,807
Total Charges, ditto, (including 104,632l. ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c.) -	5,923,063
	1,867,744
Deduct Intereſt on Debts, per N. XVI.	437,047
Eſtimated Surplus Revenue	1,430,697
Add — No. XV. Eſtimated Sales of Imports, and amount of Certificates	380,669
Amount eſtimated to be applicable to Inveſtments, Payment of Commercial Charges, &c. &c. - -	1,811,366

In theſe Eſtimates every article of income except the Police Tax, was taken under the actual produce for laſt year, to an amount altogether of near 300,000l. ſo that there was no ground to fear a defalcation;—theſe eſtimates however, he obſerved, conſiderably exceeded thoſe on which his calculations were founded in 1793.

Debts in India—Current Rupees at 2s.

	£.
Amount owing by the Company ſtated to the Houſe laſt year - -	7,857,405
Amount by the lateſt advices (No. XVI.)	7,305,462
Decreaſe -	551,943

Debt

	C. Rs.	£.
Debt transferred in the year (No. XVII.) -	98,59,035	
Of which allowed in the accounts of laſt year by No. XVI. of that date - - -	31,36,646	
Remains C. Rs.	67,22,389	672,239
Debts bearing intereſt laſt year amounted to - - -		6,322,328
Amount bearing intereſt at preſent, per No. XVI. - - -		5,597,299
Decreaſe of Debt bearing Intereſt		725,029
Amount of Intereſt payable by laſt year's accounts - - -		517,825
Amount of Intereſt payable by No. XVI. - - - -		437,047
Leſs to be paid for Intereſt on the Debts per ann. - - -		80,778

Although the total reduction of debt was only 551,943l. the reduction of debt bearing intereſt was 725,029l. It was for the advantage of the Company to reduce the debt bearing intereſt as much as poſſible, although the amount of debt not bearing intereſt ſhould be increaſed as much as poſſible without injuring their credit.

ASSETS in INDIA.—C. Rs. at 2s.

	£.
Cash, Goods, Debts, &c. at the several settlements, stated in last year's account at - - - -	8,733,796
Per No. XXI. of the present statements	8,807,600
Increase -	73,804
Adding this to the decrease of debts, the Company's affairs appear better in these respects by - - - -	625,747

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Mr. Dundas observed, that in 1793 he had stated the average of the three largest annual sales of the East India Company's goods, viz. from 1790 to 1793, the amount of which was	5,103,094
In the last year the sales had exceeded the largest of those years sales, and amounted to 418,764l. more than that average, the total sale in 1794* having been - -	5,521,858
The estimate for that year was	5,364,358
The actual amount, therefore, exceeded the estimate -	157,500

* Goods sold in private trade this year amounted to 1,053,462l.
So that total India goods sold in the year was 6,575,320l.

Amount

	£.
Amount received for goods ſold in this year was, per No. XXIII. -	5,392,966
Being leſs than eſtimated	55,892
Charges and profit on private trade, eſtimated - -	70,000
Actual amount, per No. XXIII.	62,459
Leſs than eſtimated - -	7,541
In the eſtimate of February, 1793, the amount of ſales, profit on private trade, and intereſt on annuities, after paying annuitants, was - -	5,094,527
Actual amount laſt year - - -	5,620,544
More than in that eſtimate -	526,017
Charges in that eſtimate—Dividends at 8 per Cent. - - -	3,889,100
Paid laſt year—Dividends at 10½ per Cent. - - -	4,467,787
Charges more than in that eſtimate	578,687
The difference therefore is only -	52,670

But 416,996l. being paid for tea, and 933,095l. of India transferred Debt diſcharged and 149,650l. of Bonds paid off, all formed the ſurplus.

The amount eſtimated to be received in the preſent year for goods ſold is per No. XXIII. - - -	5,549,500
And profit on private trade - -	60,000

The charges are eſtimated nearly equal to the receipts and caſh in hand, and no ſurplus expected adequate to the payment of India debt.

	£.	£.
India Debt paid off in the laſt two years, viz.		
in 1793 -	1,008,637	
1794 - -	933,095	
		1,941,732

More by 941,732l. than directed by the act of 1793. In the preſent year 490,647l. is eſtimated to be diſcharged. A more diſtinct view of the Home Accounts would appear from the following ſtatement:

DEBTS AT HOME.

	£.
The Debts, including the Debt tranſferred from India, amounted	
In March, 1794, to	7,006,500
In March, 1795, to	6,946,323
Leſs in March laſt	60,177

ASSETS.

	£.
Aſſets at home and afloat 1ſt of March laſt, ſtated in No. XXIII. at -	10,413,354
Similar Articles valued laſt year, at	9,888,836
More in March laſt	524,518
Adding decreaſe of Debts to increaſe of Aſſets, the Company's affairs appear better at home by - -	584,695

CHINA

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

	£
The Balance at China and St. Helena, was in laſt year's Accounts, in favour of the Company - -	1,080,881
By the laſt accounts ſtated in the ſecond No. I. - - -	979,158
Balance leſs at preſent	101,723

GENERAL RESULT OF THE COMPARISON OF THE LAST AND PRESENT YEAR'S ACCOUNTS.

Debts leſs, and Aſſets more, in India	625,747
Do. Do. at Home	584,695
	1,210,442
Balance leſs in China and St. Helena	101,723
	1,108,719
Add for the Balance of Bills drawn and cargoes ſhipped from India, after cloſing the accounts there, compared with the laſt year's Statements	303,530
The Company's Affairs better with reſpect to Debts and Aſſets	1,412,249
This ſum, taken from comparing the Stock per Computation No. I. with the Account No. XXIV. laid before the Houſe laſt year—	
The Balance in favour per No. I. is	5,493,774
In laſt year's Account the amount was	4,081,525
The Company's Affairs better in March, 1795 - -	1,412,249

The ſales had produced more than the average of the three moſt productive years ever known, and

 were

were greater than the largeſt of thoſe years. On the whole of the Company's receipts and payments for the laſt year, the reſult was, that the actual account was better than the eſtimate by 203,405l. the balance eſtimated to remain in March laſt, having been 230,926l. and the actual amount being 434,331l. beſides which, it was eſtimated that 200,000l. would be borrowed on mortgage of the annuities, but in fact, only 100,000l. was borrowed although the balance was ſo much larger.

If ſuch was the ſtate of their affairs at home, it might be aſked, why they had not been called upon to pay the 500,000l. due, or ſuppoſed to be due, to the public? Without giving any opinion upon the right to call for payment, he would anſwer, that it would have been imprudent. The debt to be tranſferred annually from India was calculated in 1793, at 500,000l. per annum, but before the inſtructions reſtricting it to that ſum could reach India, bills to a far greater amount had been ſent over, of which 933,095l. fell due in the laſt year. In the laſt year alſo they had expended 416,996l, for the purchaſe of teas on the continent. All the eſtimates of freight, &c. were made upon a peace eſtabliſhment, and now they muſt be paid upon a war eſtabliſhment. They were eſtimated in 1793 at 690,670l. and in the laſt year upwards of 800,000l. was paid; yet this was not all that ought to have been paid, for three of the Company's ſhips were very wiſely detained in India, and converted into cruizers for the protection of the country trade. The arrear of freight, &c. due upon theſe ſhips, would fall to be paid this year, which, with the other charges of the ſame deſcription, is eſtimated to amount to 1,606,649l. A large ſum was alſo expected to become due in this year for bills of exchange, and on the whole, after paying the amount of India debt ſtated in the eſtimate, there would be a deficiency in their

their caſh account of 371,838l., on the firſt of March 1796. Under ſuch circumſtances would it be adviſeable to preſs them for the 500,000l. to the public? They were allowed to increaſe their bonded debt from two millions to three, which they had not had occaſion to do, and conſequently had a credit of a million, if they ſhould want it next year. Why not it would be aſked, make uſe of this credit to pay the public? In caſe of exigency on the part of the public, they might have been called upon, as this credit was given them to pay the extra debt tranſferred from India, and if they had ſo applied it, there would have been a ſurplus in their treaſury for the public; but in time of war it would be unwiſe to have the Company's treaſury leſs full in point of caſh, than they were even with this credit. Beſides, they muſt either have iſſued the bonds at a diſcount, or raiſed the intereſt nearly as high as the intereſt produced by their ſtock, which would have brought upon them all their out-ſtanding bonds bearing four per cent. intereſt. Again, it might be aſked, why they did not rather apply their ſurplus revenue in India, to paying off their India Debt, rather than inveſt it in trade, upon which they had to pay 900,000l. additional freight? In the bill for the renewal of their Charter, the principle adopted throughout was to make London as much as poſſible the emporium of all the trade from India. It was with this view, too, that he would allow Indian ſhipping to tranſport goods to Europe, without which proviſions the whole private trade and private fortune of the Company's Servants would become a capital to the Danes and Swedes to carry on the India trade, and underſell us in foreign markets. Therefore, though in a commercial point, contracting their trade for the preſent, and applying the money

 to

to the payment of their debts, might be attended with a faving to the Company, ftill he would maintain it to be bad policy to do fo ; for if the trade was diminifhed, the fhipping muft of courfe be diminifhed alfo, which, as thofe fhips were of a kind applicable only to that particular purpofe, would materially injure the capitals of men laid out in that trade; befides, it would, only for the fake of a temporary gain, encourage other nations to take up the trade.

As author of the propofitions in 1793, when the new charter was granted, he thought it incumbent on him to take care that the public fhould know whether in the eftimates and calculations on which he grounded thofe propofitions, he had taken an exaggerated view of the revenues of India, or of the appropriations of them; it was for that reafon he had been fo very particular in making the foregoing ftatements to the Houfe, by which it appeared, that as in the revenues, fo in the fales at home, his eftimates had been greatly exceeded, though the Company laboured under great difadvantages by detention of fhips, and though the want of coaft goods obliged them to narrow their fales---had it not been for thofe difadvantages, the excefs would have amounted, no doubt, to an enormous fum.

He declared he did not know a fingle circumftance that could lead him to doubt the increafing profperity of the affairs of Great Britain in India. In Bengal they had the moft clear proof of increafing population, in the increafe of the fale of falt; befides the land revenues were increafed and increafing : thofe who, preffed by the uncertain tenures under which they formerly held the lands, or were moft backward in payment, having (encouraged as they are now by permanent tenures) become not only punctal in payment of the running rent, but

diligent

diligent in payment of their arrears; and when they fee that they live under equal laws---that all are alike protected---that agriculture is receiving encouragement, the fubjects of *that* country could not fail to find a deep intereft in the profperity of *this*. The fame might be faid of Madras. Taking the the Southern Polygars from the Nabob, into our own hands, could not but have the happieft effects; for they, feeing they were treated with juftice and gentlenefs, and dealt by with an equal hand---feeing that we made demands on them, not as fuited our neceffities, but as was conformable to right, would punctually pay their rents, and alter the face of things in that part for the better. This, he faid, had already daily appeared.---Befides, a large part of Madras (the Northern Circars) was never brought to that perfection to which it was entitled. This was a fubject on which he could not now enter---perhaps when it came to be confidered, the example of Bengal might be thought eligible to be followed. As there was no fuch receipt for increafing population and profperity as fecurity, Madras would perhaps increafe as rapidly as Bengal, when the fame fentiment of fecurity pervaded the opinions of the people. All innovations, even thofe that are moft good, muft be wrought progreffively --Men muft be led, not drove, even to that which promotes their own benefit. With due encouragement, and regulations founded on juftice and found principle, he had little doubt of an inveftment coming from Madras as well as Bengal. At all events, he faw no reafon to fear any defalcation of the revenues below the expenfes.

The fame principle of reafoning applied ftill ftronger to Bombay, the revenues of which arofe from the countries ceded by Tippoo Sultan---As yet they had turned out 120,000l. lefs than the value at

which

which they were handed over to Lord Cornwallis: by better government, and repairing the ravages of war, they will become better.

If he looked to India, he ſaw no circumſtance that did not lead to confidence in the increaſing proſperity of the country. The increaſed conſumption of ſalt in Bengal was a clear proof of increaſed population. Since the benefits of a regular and fixed mode of collecting the revenues were felt, perſons were not only paying their aſſeſſment punctually, but paying up their old arrears. When a ſyſtem of law and juſtice was eſtabliſhed, which afforded equal protection to the rich and to the poor; when the tenure by which men held their property was rendered permanent inſtead of precarious; when the natives began to feel that they had a deep intereſt in the ſtability of the Britiſh government, there was every reaſon to believe that the wealth, population, and proſperity of the country would keep progreſſively and rapidly advancing. The ſame hopes might be entertained of Madras. Taking the collection of the tribute which the Southern Polygars were bound to pay into the hands of the company, was a wiſe meaſure. They would ſoon learn that our demands were regulated by our rights, not by our neceſſities, and the difficulties in obtaining payment would ceaſe. The Northern Circars were not ſo much improved as they were capable of being, or as they deſerved to be. The firſt ſtep towards improvement was to give ſecurity with reſpect to perſons and property, and this perhaps could not be effected ſo well as by gradually introducing the ſyſtem which had been introduced into Bengal. Then would the preſidency of Madras not only pay its own expenſes, but in the courſe of ten years furniſh a ſurplus for an inveſtment, without drawing upon the treaſury of Bengal. On this, how-

however, he begged to be underflood as founding no eftimate; he merely mentioned it as one of many reafons for being perfuaded there was no danger of defalcation. The fame might be faid of Bombay, where a large territory on the Malabar coaft had been ceded to us by Tippoo Sultan. The revenues, it was true, had fallen 120,000l. fhort of the fum at which they were given in by Tippoo; but in the courfe of three years they had been regularly increafing, as might naturally be expected under a better government. Hitherto the increafe had been extraordinary—The firft year, the amount was three lacks, the next, eleven, and the third feventeen; and there was no reafon to doubt that they would have a vaft progreffive increafe. He did not fay this with a view of raifing any too fanguine hopes, but to fhew that the event was adequate to all he had foretold.

While fuch were the fituation and profpects of the Company in India, there was furely nothing difcouraging in the ftate of their affairs at home. In time of war, and when the markets of a great part of Europe were fhut againft them, their fales were greater than they had ever been before. Could it be apprehended they would be lefs on the return of peace, when all the markets of Europe would be open, and all the private trade from India brought home in the Company's fhips? He was far from putting the India trade upon the footing of an exclufive monopoly; he fhould have no objection to open the trade of India to every nation of the world that chofe to trade thither on the produce of its own induftry, or its own wealth. We were fovereigns in India as well as merchants, and it was our duty to act not merely in the narrow views of a commercial monopoly, but to advance the profperity of the people over whom we were fovereigns. But while

we

we were guided by this liberal ſpirit of policy, we ought not at the ſame time to allow other nations to trade to India on the capital of Britiſh ſubjects, or on the revenues of India, while thoſe revenues were our's.

One circumſtance he muſt mention was, that in the courſe of laſt year, the Company had paid 60,000l. as bounties to ſeamen.

Having laid before the Houſe the amount of the Indian revenues and charges abroad, and the amounts of the ſales, private trade, and general receipts at home, Mr. Dundas offered ſome explanatory obſervations, of which the following is the ſubſtance.

He remarked, that the eſtimate upon which the arrangement of 1793 was founded had been greatly exceeded, by the actual produce of every year, ſince that period; ſo far, therefore, as this was applicable to Bengal, the fact had fully correſponded with the eſtimate; for in that preſidency, not only ſecurity had been given to property, but a fixed mode of collecting the revenues had been tried. The benefit of a fixed aſſeſſment, and a regular mode of collection, had produced a conviction, in the natives, of ſecurity of their property; the circumſtance which alone can render it valuable to them, or an object of their deſire. The ſyſtem of law, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, which had been eſtabliſhed, had alſo produced, in the rich and in the poor of the natives, a deep intereſt in the ſtability of the Britiſh power in India, of which the increaſed conſumption of ſalt, in Bengal, might be held as a criterion of progreſſive proſperity. An increaſe of population, he added, always reſults from an increaſe of the means of ſubſiſtence.

He next ſtated, that though the ſame meaſures had not been carried into effect, at Madras, the

meaſures which have been taken, for that purpoſe, promiſed the like benefits, as ſoon as they could be fully carried into effect. The collecting of the tributes, from the Southern Polygars, not through the Nabob, but immediately by the Company, he truſted would ſoon afford us the means of convincing them that our demands were to be regulated by our rights, not by our neceſſities.

The difficulties, therefore, which formerly had obſtructed their regular payments, were now rapidly diſappearing.

It was true, the revenues from the Northern Circars had by no means been improved in the degree of which they were ſuſceptible; but he was perſuaded that this important end could be obtained by no means ſo effectually as by gradually introducing the ſame, or a ſimilar ſyſtem, (allowing for the differences of the ſettlements) which had been tried in Bengal. The effect would be to give ſecurity to property, and to Proprietors, and, in all probability, to enable the Preſidency of Madras, not only to defray its own expenſes, but from its ſurplus to provide for its inveſtment, without the aid of the Treaſury of Bengal; a circumſtance, however, which he mentioned, not to be reaſoned from as an eſtimate, but as a ſtrong preſumptive argument, that the affairs of the Company were in a ſtate of progreſſive improvement.

Mr. Dundas then obſerved, that the ſame reaſoning applied to the Preſidency of Bombay, who had the adminiſtration of the poſſeſſions ceded to us by Tippoo Sultan, on the Malabar Coaſt. No average of three years could be here reſorted to; and, beſides, the revenues of the ceded countries were not, as yet, within 120,000l. of what they had been given out to be worth by Tippoo Sultan.

It was, however, to be recollected that these provinces had not long emerged from the calamities of war, and, of course, could not be supposed to yield the full extent of their real revenues. In the course, however, of three years, the amount of these revenues had progressively increased. In the first year the amount had been about four, in the second eleven, and the third was estimated at seventeen lacks of rupees; and, therefore, it might be inferred, that if a similar system with that of Bengal should be introduced in these valuable acquisitions, the effect would be an increase of revenue.

Having made these remarks on the probable prospects, from the foreign revenues of the Company, Mr. Dundas adverted to the increase of their sales at home in the last year, a period when the foreign markets of Europe were shut against them.—Upon this subject, he therefore presumed to think, that there was reason to hope, as soon as the return of peace should open these markets, that the amount of the sales would be proportionably greater. So far from wishing to consider the trade from India to rest upon the narrow basis of a monopoly, he had no objection to all the nations of the world trading to the British possessions in the East, *upon their own capitals.*—Great Britain considered itself as Sovereign of its Indian possessions, as well as a commercial country, and would be ready to promote, whatever tended to advance the prosperity of its Indian subjects.—At the same time, it would prevent foreigners from trading on *British capitals*, or deriving benefits from the revenues of the provinces, which it had entrusted to the Administration of the East India Company.

Upon these grounds Mr. Dundas considered the affairs of the East-India Company, as likely to continue in a progressive state of prosperity.

After

After ſtating theſe circumſtances and referring to the preſent ſurplus of the Company, as ſpecified in the reſults of the accounts before the Houſe, he adverted to the contingencies which muſt abridge that ſurplus in ſubſequent years.

It muſt in a conſiderable degree be leſs from the proviſion which would be required, in order to do juſtice to the claims of their meritorious armies.

Before our acquiſition of territories, the Company's forces in India conſiſted only of the requiſite guards for their factories or ſeats of trade; they had now, not only a greater military force to keep in conſtant pay than was required on ordinary occaſions for Britain and its other dependencies, but an eſtabliſhment equal to many of the military powers in Europe; it was, indeed, without ſuch an army, as impoſſible to protect the provinces, and the large commercial concerns of the Company, as to make that army efficient, without regulations in every degree applicable to the duties required from it.

There were certain *general grounds* upon which it would be requiſite to reſt the arrangements for the Company's forces in India.

In the firſt place, the Company at preſent gave no higher rank to their oldeſt officers than that of *Colonel*, a circumſtance which deprived their moſt experienced and meritorious officers of that promotion, to which military men look forward as their beſt and moſt honourable reward, and therefore, he would propoſe, "That a certain proportion of General and Field Officers ſhould be allowed to "each of the military eſtabliſhments in India," a regulation which would produce a general promotion in the ſubordinate ranks of their army.

In the next place, under the preſent regulation, an officer who may have ſerved thirty years in India, and yet who, during this dreary ſervice, may

 not

not have acquired a competency to enable him to return to his friends and his country, muſt reſign his rank and his pay, or remain in exile.—He would therefore propoſe, "that a comfortable and honourable retreat, ſhould, after a certain number of years ſervice, be afforded to them." This proviſion alſo would have its effect of accelerating promotion in the army.

In the laſt place, many of the officers who went at an early period of life to India, experienced, from the difference of climate, the loſs of health; but under the preſent regulation, by returning to Europe, they had no other reſource, except in the feelings and charity of their friends, without which they muſt remain in India, and fall victims to the diſeaſes of the climate: he would, therefore, propoſe, "that under medical certificates, with the approbation of the commanders in chief, and the governments in India, officers, the recovery of whoſe health might require it, ſhould be permitted to return to Europe, without loſs either of rank or pay." Nor would he limit this principle to the neceſſity ariſing from want of health only, for he would propoſe (as he held it to be politic, as well as reaſonable) "that a certain proportion of the officers, in rotation, ſhould be allowed to re-viſit their native country upon furloughs, without the loſs either of rank or pay."

Theſe principles appeared to him to be the general ground upon which the new arrangements for the Indian army ſhould proceed, and he would ſuggeſt a plan for theſe purpoſes to the Company, who, he was perſuaded, would feel the propriety of eſtabliſhing a liberal arrangement for their army, whoſe ſervices they, and their country, were as ready to acknowledge as to reward.

Mr.

Mr. Dundas concluded by moving his firſt reſolution.

Mr. Huſſey ſaid, that he did not ſee in the papers on the table a ſtatement of any debt due to Government.

Mr. Secretary Dundas replied, that the Eaſt India Company contended that no debt was due.

Mr. Huſſey ſaid, he had always doubted whether the affairs of the Company were in ſo flouriſhing a ſituation as they were repreſented, both from their want of an increaſe of capital, and from the circumſtance of their continually borrowing money. In the accounts of the year 1781, which he held in his hand, he ſaw that the balance was ſtated to be nearly the ſame as that of the preſent year; the difference was only a ſum of 42,000l. leſs, with reſpect to the preſent year. In 1781, the capital was only 2,800.000l. it had ſince received an addition of upwards of 4,000.000l. He wiſhed, then, to be ſhewn where was the increaſe of proſperity on the part of the Company?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſtated, that at the period to which the Honourable Gentleman alluded, the accounts of the Company were very much diſputed; they were then involved in obſcurity and embarraſſment; it was only ſince the ſyſtem of regularity, which had within theſe few years been introduced by his Right Honourable Friend, that they could be relied on in point of accuracy.—The fair way then, in order to aſcertain their comparative improvement, was to take ſome years ſince the commencement of that ſyſtem adopted by his Right Honourable Friend, and view it with a reference to the ſubſequent years. In 1781 the expenſes of the war were ſtill going on. It had not been practicable till after repeated orders ſent to India to obtain the proper returns of thoſe expenſes.

It

It had been found neceſſary, that debts ſtated to be due to the Company ſhould be ſtruck off; and likewiſe it had been diſcovered, that there were millions owing by them, of which nothing had been known. If, therefore, for ſome years there had been no appearance of improvement in the ſtate of the Company's finances, it was not becauſe there was no real improvement, but becauſe his Right Honourable Friend had during thoſe years been engaged in winding up the old accounts. He mentioned 1786 as the firſt year from which the new ſyſtem began to operate.

Mr. Huſſey ſaid, he had referred to the year 1781, not from any principle of ſelection, but merely becauſe the accounts of that year happened to be in his poſſeſſion.

General Smith expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the order which the Right Hon. Secretary had introduced into his annual ſtatement of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company. Having introduced this practice, he wiſhed he would carry it farther, and appoint a ſeparate day for the diſcuſſion of his ſtatement, as in the caſe of the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the Houſe might be prepared to go into the detail of the buſineſs, and, if neceſſary, to urge their objections. So far from there being any proſpect of a diminution of the proſperity of the Company, he thought that the reverſe was likely to be the caſe. He ſhould confine himſelf to the laſt head of the ſpeech of the Right Honourable Secretary. He was glad to find the caſe of the officers in India at laſt likely to be taken up. He could not tell how many applications had been made to him on the ſubject. He ſhould now read a letter from the Secretary of the India-Houſe to one of the oldeſt officers in the ſervice of the Company. The letter was an application to know, whether

whether the officers would be paid their arrears, and whether ſuch of them as were ſick and wounded would be allowed a paſſage? The anſwer ſtated, that the Directors could not comply with the requeſt, but that they were ready to take into conſideration the caſe of any individual officer. Men could not be ſo treated without feeling moſt ſeverely. But he ſhould preſs the ſubject no further, relying on the promiſe of the Right Hon. Gentleman, that ſome ſteps would be taken before the ſailing of the next ſhips for India. He truſted that the ſituation of the officers who had come home would not be overlooked, and that ſomething would be done to reſcue them from the dependence and poverty under which they now laboured. Their caſe was ſo diſgraceful to the country that he wondered how it could at all have been ſuffered to exiſt.

Mr. D. Scott deſired the honourable gentleman to read over the three laſt lines of the letter from the ſecretary of the India Houſe.

General Smith remarked, that he did not mean any reflection on the Court of Directors; they could not act otherwiſe till a new ſyſtem was adopted.

Mr. D. Scott ſaid, he wiſhed to do away any unfavourable impreſſion that the peruſal of the letter might have excited on the minds of the Committee with reſpect to the conduct of the Court of Directors. He challenged the Honourable General to produce any one inſtance where an officer who had made application to the Court had been neglected. He ſtated, that the effect of the new arrangements had firſt taken place in 1786; before that period, it had not been known within a ſum of three millions to what amount, and ſince, that the revenues of the Company had been increaſed two millions annually.

Mr.

Mr. Huffey faid, that the public had not teas at the prices for which the Company had bargained to fupply them.

Mr. D. Scott replied, that the Company were obliged to put up their teas at a certain price: if the public paid for them more than they were worth, it was their own fault.

Mr. Lufhington enforced the claims and the fufferings of the officers in the fervice of the Eaft India Company. He felt himfelf particularly interefted in the fubject, as many of them had been induced to come to this country in confequence of a motion which he had fome time fince made on their behalf. He recapitulated the leading points of the fpeech of the Right Hon. Secretary of State, and highly commended the clear and convincing manner in which they were ftated.

Colonel Wood alfo fupported the claims of the officers, and wifhed to have fome fpecific engagement from one of the Directors on their behalf.

Sir Francis Baring, alluding to what had fallen from General Smith, faid, it was the firft time he had heard any attack on the Court of Directors, for their conduct to the officers of the Company. Every fervice had its different rules; the officers in the King's fervice had their advantages, as had likewife thofe in the fervice of the Company. A colonel had a yearly income of 10,000l.—he did not know what might be the pay of a general. The Honourable General had furely himfelf no reafon to complain.

General Smith expreffed himfelf furprifed at the treatment which he had juft received from his old friend. He had made no attack on the Court of Directors; he had only found fault with the fyftem which prevailed with refpect to the officers. What had juft dropped from his honourable friend he muft

ſuppoſe, either to be the effect of temporary heat, or a piece of good-humoured raillery; but, as it ſeemed to convey a perſonal inſinuation, he defied any one to find a ſingle action to blame in the whole courſe of his life; and referred to the teſtimony which had been given to his conduct by the vote of thanks which had been paſſed for his ſervices to the Company.

Sir Francis Baring explained that he meant no perſonal alluſion.

After a few deſultory remarks from Mr. Huſſey and Mr. Dundas, the reſolutions were ſucceſſively put and carried.

The Houſe was then reſumed, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.—Adjourned.

Report on Eaſt India Company's revenue accounts.

Mr. Joddrell (according to order) reported from the committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider of the ſeveral accounts and papers, which were preſented to the Houſe, upon the 17th day of April, and the 8th day of May laſt, by Mr. Owen (from the Directors of the Eaſt India Company) the reſolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the Houſe; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the ſame were read, and agreed to by the Houſe, and are as followeth, viz.

1. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt India Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, poſt office collections, Benares revenue, Oude ſubſidy, land revenues, cuſtoms, and the receipts from the ſales of ſalt and opium, amounted, on the average

of three years, 1791-2 to 1793-4, both inclusive, to the sum of five crore forty-two lacks fifty-three thousand one hundred and seventy-one current rupees.

2. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the East India Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, under the same heads, which were estimated, for the year 1793-4, to amount to five crore forty-three lacks twenty-seven thousand six hundred seventy-six current rupees, amounted to five crore eighty-seven lacks nineteen thousand four hundred and sixty current rupees.

3. That it appears, that the charges incurred by the East India Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and in Benares and Oude, under the heads of civil, judicial, military, and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and customs, and the advances and charges on account of salt and opium, which were estimated, for the year 1793-4, at three crore twenty-three lacks eighty-three thousand four hundred and fifty-eight current rupees, amounted to three crore thirty-three lacks nineteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight current rupees.

4. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the East India Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, Benares revenue, Oude subsidy, land revenues, customs, and the receipts from the sales of salt and opium, for the year 1794-5, are estimated, by the governor-general and council, to amount to the sum of five crore fifty-eight lacks six thousand and sixty-eight current rupees.

5. That it appears, that the charges to be defrayed by the East India Company, in the provinces of Ben-

gal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and in Benares and Oude, under the heads of civil, judicial, military, and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and cuſtoms, and the advances and charges on account of ſalt and opium, for the year 1794-5, are eſtimated, by the governor-general and council, to amount to the ſum of three crore twenty-ſeven lacks eighty-ſix thouſand three hundred and forty-five current rupees.

6. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt India Company, at the preſidency of Fort St. George, and the ſettlements ſubordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, poſt office collections, ſea and land cuſtoms, ſubſidies from the Nabob of Arcot, the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Nizam, land revenues, and farms and licences, which (excluſive of the ſums to be received from Tippoo Sultan) were eſtimated, for the year 1793-4, to amount to forty-five lacks ſeventy-five thouſand ſix hundred and forty pagodas, amounted to forty-two lacks ſeventy thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſeven pagodas.

7. That it appears, that the charges incurred by the Eaſt India Company, at the preſidency of Fort St. George, and the ſettlements ſubordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the reſpective heads of poſt office, civil, military, and revenue charges, and for buildings and fortifications, which were eſtimated, for the year 1793-4, to amount to forty-two lacks fifty-three thouſand two hundred and forty-four pagodas, amounted to forty-nine lacks ninety-eight thouſand four hundred and thirty-nine pagodas.

8. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt India Company at the preſidency of Fort St. George, and the ſettlements ſubordinate thereto,

and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the heads aforefaid, for the year 1794-5, are eftimated, by the governor and council of Madras, to amount to forty-fix lacks thirty-eight thoufand two hundred and ninety-three.

9. That it appears, that the annual charges to be defrayed by the Eaft India Company, at the prefidency of Fort St. George, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the refpective heads aforefaid, in the year 1794-5, are eftimated, by the governor and council at Madras, to amount to the fum of forty-four lacks fifty-five thoufand fix hundred and feventeen pagodas.

10. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the Eaft India Company, at the prefidency of Bombay, and the fettlements fubordinate thereto, which were eftimated, for the year 1793-4, to amount to twenty-four lacks feventy thoufand two hundred and two rupees, amounted to twenty-feven lacks feventy-fix thoufand five hundred and fixty-feven rupees.

11. That it appears, that the charges incurred by the Eaft India Company, at the prefidency of Bombay, and the fettlements fubordinate thereto, which were eftimated, for the year 1793-4, to amount to fixty-one lacks eighty-feven thoufand nine hundred and four rupees, amounted to fixty-nine lacks fixty-feven thoufand and thirty-eight rupees.

12. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the Eaft India Company, at the prefidency of Bombay, and the fettlements fubordinate thereto, for the year 1794-5, are eftimated by the governor and council of Bombay, to amount to thirty-one lacks fifty-four thoufand five hundred and eighteen rupees.

13. That it appears, that the annual charges to be defrayed by the Eaft India Company, at the prefidency

ſidency of Bombay, and the ſettlements ſubordinate thereto, in the year 1794-5, are eſtimated at ſixty-ſeven lacks thirty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-one rupees.

14. That it appears, that the annual revenues of the Eaſt India Company at the reſidency of Fort Marlborough, and its dependencies, ariſing from cuſtoms, farms, and licences, amounted, on an average of three years, from 1790-1 to 1792-3, both incluſive, to nineteen thouſand three hundred and ſixty-two dollars.

15. That it appears, that the debts owing by the Eaſt India Company, at the ſeveral ſettlements in India, amounted, according to the lateſt advices, to the ſum of ſeven crore thirty lacks fifty-four thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen rupees.

16. That it appears, that the part of the aforeſaid debts, bearing intereſt, amounted to five crore fifty-nine lacks ſeventy-two thouſand nine hundred and ninety-four current rupees, and that the intereſt thereon amounted to forty-three lacks ſeventy thouſand four hundred and ſixty-nine current rupees.

17. That it appears, that the value of aſſets in India, conſiſting of caſh in the treaſuries, of bills receivable, of goods provided to be ſhipped for England, of goods imported to be ſold in India, of ſalt, opium, &c. and of ſtores for uſe, or ſale, amounted, according to the lateſt advices (including current rupees, four crore ſeventy-nine lacks ninety-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and twelve, of debts ſtated to be owing to the Company there) to eight crore eighty lacks ſeventy-ſix thouſand and nine current rupees.

18. That it appears, that the balance of ſtock, in favour of the Eaſt India Company's commerce in China, amounted, according to the lateſt advices,

to

to the ſum of nine hundred and thirty-nine thouſand and forty pounds.

19. That it appears, that the effects of the Eaſt India Company in England, and afloat outward, conſiſting of annuities, caſh in the treaſury, goods ſold not paid for, goods unſold, cargoes afloat, and other articles in their commerce, amounted, on the 1ſt of March 1795, to the ſum of ten millions four hundred and thirteen thouſand three hundred and fifty-four pounds.

20. That it appears, that the ſales of the Eaſt India Company's goods, which, in February 1793, were eſtimated, on an average, to amount to four millions nine hundred and eighty-eight thouſand one hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds, amounted, in the year 1794-5, to the ſum of five millions five hundred and twenty-one thouſand eight hundred and fifty-eight pounds.

FINIS.